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THIRTIETH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

PHILADELPHIA

Female Anti-Slavery Society.

PHILADELPHIA:

MERRIHEW & THOMPSON, PRINTERS.

No. 243 Arch Street.

1864.

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Officers for the Ensuing Year.

PRESIDENT,
SARAH PUGH.

VICE-PRESIDENT,
SIDNEY ANN LEWIS.

RECORDING SECRETARY,
GULIELMA M. JONES.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,
MARY GREW.

TREASURER,
ANNIE SHOEMAKER.

BOARD OF MANAGERS,
LUCRETIA MOTT, HANNAH L. STICKNEY,
ANNA M. HOPPER, SARAH H. PEIRCE,
REBECCA S. HART, ROSANNA THOMPSON.

REPORT.

A year ago we celebrated the Proclamation of liberty to three millions of American Slaves. A People long captive and oppressed, stood, trembling with hope and fear, on the banks of a Red Sea, between whose parting waters lay their path to Freedom. Now, with firm step and heart elate, they are passing its midway depths; and we, whose throbbing pulses have kept time to their march, think that we see the pillar of cloud behind them,—a sure protection from pursuing foes,—and already anticipate, with them, the speedily approaching hour when, safe on the farther shore, with perfectly-assured deliverance, they shall sing, “Thy right hand, O Lord, is become glorious in power :” “Thou in thy mercy hast led forth the People which Thou hast redeemed; Thou hast guided them in Thy strength unto Thy holy habitation.”

The intensity of national life in times like these, so crowd a year with important and wonderful events; developing character, revealing hidden motive power,

and proclaiming on the house-tops that which was “spoken in the ear in closets ;” so hastens the succession of causes and effects, that at each annual review we seem to have passed over a Decade.

When the Thirty-Seventh Congress adjourned in March 1863, it had accomplished the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and its prohibition in the Territories ; it had decreed the confiscation of slaves of rebel masters, whether those masters were citizens of seceding or of loyal States ; and it had forbidden all officers of the army or navy to aid in returning fugitive slaves to loyal or disloyal masters. A little later there were indications that the President had determined to arm the slaves whom he had freed. The past year has been bright with evidences of the Nation’s progress towards a full apprehension of justice to the colored man, and willingness to render him justice. The Government has authorized the organization of Negro Regiments in the South as well as in the North, and now, in all its Military departments, from Maryland to Louisiana, slaves are being enrolled as free soldiers of the United States. It has, in a few instances, commissioned colored men for the offices of Chaplain, Surgeon, and Recruiting Agent. It has given to its colored soldiers most solemn promises of protection equal to that which it extends to their white brethren-in-arms. Gen. Hunter, from the Head Quarters of the Department of the South, has proclaimed that “the United States flag must protect

all its defenders, whether black or yellow," and has declared his purpose of strict retaliation for every outrage committed by the rebel government upon Negro prisoners of war. The Solicitor of the War Department announces, that "the faith of the Government is pledged to these officers and troops that they shall be protected, and it cannot and will not abandon to the savage cruelty of slave-masters a single officer or soldier who has been called on to defend the flag of his country, and thus exposed to the hazards of war." And the President, in his General Order, July 30th, 1863, announced," "The Government of the United States will give the same protection to all its soldiers; and if the enemy shall sell or enslave any one because of his color, the offence shall be punished by retaliation upon the enemy's prisoners in our possession."

Among these indications of progress in our Government, there are few more impressive than the decision of the Military Governor of Tennessee, upon the question of the rendition of a fugitive slave who was claimed by Christopher Woodall, a resident of that State.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, NASHVILLE, }
November 13th, 1863. }

"If the girl referred to is *willing* to return with Mr. Woodall, she should be allowed to go; but, if not *willing*, she will not be compelled to go with him.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Military Governor."

These words have a strange sound in the ears of those who have been accustomed to wait and watch, in agonizing suspense, through days and nights, for the decisions of United States Judges and Commissioners, upon fugitive slave cases in Northern cities ; and to listen, in more agonizing certainty, to the doom which they pronounced.

With its promises and efforts to protect the emancipated slaves, and the freeborn negro soldier, our Government is offering them facilities for general education ; and commissioned teachers, ranking as lieutenants, alternate their lessons with those of the drill-sergeants. It is a fact significant of conscious strength, and one which will shine brightly on the pages of our country's history, that our Government, while carrying on a great war, is able and willing to attend to the education of the slaves whom the war is emancipating. One more act of restitution to this robbed and outraged People was justly demanded ; and this act the Government has recently performed in the Port Royal District. After much effort by Gen. Saxton and other friends of the Freedmen, both in and out of the army, a decree has been obtained that the lands in that District which had passed from the possession of rebels into that of the United States, shall be sold at public auction, open to pre-emption at the government price of \$1.25 per acre. Of these lands there are about 43,000 acres, besides 5000 acres, reserved for school funds, and this act of the Govern-

ment enables thousands of these emancipated slaves to become freeholders. The joy with which its announcement was received by the Freed People of the Islands is graphically portrayed by the editor of "the Free South," in his account of the Meeting held in St. Helena church, on the occasion; but it may be more easily imagined than described. The importance of this measure to a just reorganization of labor and social life in the South can scarcely be over estimated; and political economists and philanthropists will endorse the assertion of one of the most prominent journals of this city, that "next to the Proclamation of Emancipation, this is the wisest and most important measure yet adopted" for the accomplishment of this end.

The Annual Message of the President was anticipated with unusual anxiety, at the end of the year which will ever be remembered as the year of the Proclamation. The friends of Freedom hailed with joy the promise which it contained that the President would never yield the principle of the Proclamation; and the assurance that he would regard the violation of it as "a cruel and astounding breach of faith." Our dismembered Nation had great cause for thanksgiving that the time had come for a Proclamation of pardon to the Rebels, and that a condition of the offered pardon was fealty to "all proclamations of the President, made during the existing Rebellion, having reference to slaves, so long and so far as not

modified or declared void by decision of the Supreme Court."

The Legislative department of our Government constantly indicates growing loyalty to Freedom. The early sessions of the present Congress were signally marked with evidences that a large portion of that body appreciated the mighty responsibility which God has laid upon it, and the rare opportunity given it to win a glorious and immortal name which shall be forever linked with the rescue of a country and the emancipation of its slaves. Principles which, a few years ago were enunciated there only by a few bold men, in the face of the most furious opposition, are now incorporated into resolutions and bills, which receive the approving votes of the majority in the Senate and in the House. Bills have been introduced, to repeal the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850; to declare all slaves, in Territories or State, free citizens, and to make their re-enslavement a crime; to prohibit the holding of persons in servitude except by contract; for the equal payment of colored and white soldiers; for the establishment of a Bureau of Emancipation; and, best of all, a joint Resolution has been offered in the Senate, for an amendment of the Constitution which shall prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the Republic. And a motion to postpone indefinitely this Resolution was negatived by a vote of thirty-one to eight. The large majorities which have promptly and steadily negatived proposals of com-

promise with slavery for the suppression of the rebellion, show that the sagacity and moral strength which we have been accustomed to look for in a few honorable and honored members only, are extending through the body.

With such indication of progress in the various departments of the Government, we look confidently for signs of equal promise among the people, the Power which moves the Government. And here we cannot fail to notice a growing sense of justice towards the colored man, and an increasing willingness (inspired by mingled motives, doubtless) to admit him to the ranks of the army. In this city, where the colored race, bond and free, have long been the victims of most cruel injustice and unchristian contempt, a Memorial, signed by hundreds of our most conservative citizens, asking the Federal Government to organize black regiments in Pennsylvania, was last summer sent to Washington. And the Committee on Enlistments, in their Appeal to the citizens for pecuniary aid, tell us that though it would have been necessary, six months earlier, to support such an appeal by arguments for the propriety and expediency of such enlistments, that necessity has passed away. A prominent citizen and a Judge, in Maryland, writes to the Secretary of War, urging the enlistment of slaves. Similar testimony to this great change in popular feeling comes from the East and West, and from many loyal citizens of the South. The Republican journals

which denounced and ridiculed the first proposal of the measure, now advocate and applaud it. The most cursory reader of the daily newspapers cannot fail to perceive the entire change of their spirit and tone towards the colored people, both free and enslaved. The prompt and liberal response to the cry of the Freedmen for aid is another evidence of the regenerating process through which public sentiment is passing. In this city alone nearly one hundred thousand dollars have been contributed for their assistance. And this aid to the newly emancipated slave, which has been so freely offered throughout the whole North, has come not only from those who, for thirty years, have been pleading his cause and laboring for his redemption, but also from those who, during nearly all those years, were deaf to those pleas, and active in striving to thwart those labors. God be thanked that they are willing to stretch out their hands, and grasp in fraternal kindness the toil-worn hand of the slave, now that the Angel of Liberty is leading him out of his long captivity!

The evidences of this change, so delightful to witness, are far too numerous for record. One of the most marvellous is the fact that the organ of Boston conservatism suggests that the Massachusetts Legislature should elect for chaplain a colored clergyman of that city, as a delicate and proper expression of public appreciation of the generosity and disinterested patriotism of the Massachusetts Black Regiments,

who declined to accept the additional pay voted them by the State Legislature.

In reviewing the Nation's progress towards Freedom, we must look into the Southern States. If, throughout the North, we have gathered many trophies of the victory of our cause, which awaken unutterable joy and gratitude, with what songs of exultation shall we hail its triumphs on Southern soil. A majority of the slaveholding States which were exempted in the President's Emancipation Proclamation, are preparing to abolish slavery within their borders. Maryland, by the voice of her Governor, and the vote of fifty-one against fifteen of the members of one branch of her Legislature, has declared that her interests demand the immediate adoption of the policy of emancipation. The Legislature of Western Virginia has recently passed a bill calling a Convention for the abolition of slavery within the boundaries of the newly-erected State. Missouri, which a few years ago sent forth her border-ruffians to fight against Freedom in Kansas, assembled in State Convention, and, on the first day of July, 1863, voted by a majority of fifty-one against thirty, for the adoption of an Act of Gradual Emancipation, which declares that Slavery shall cease to exist in Missouri on and after the 4th of July, 1870 ; with certain provisions and exceptions, one of which is that slaves over forty years of age shall remain enslaved during their lives. The contest in this Convention was between the advocates of Grad-

ual and of Immediate Emaneipation ; a memorable faet concerning a State which has been so strong a ehampion of slavery. Though the Radieal Emaneipationists were defeated, they were not diseouraged from further efforts to hasten the doom of the monster which was sueking the life-blood of their Commonwealth. These efforts will probably be suecessful, but, even if they should not, the rapid exodus of slaves into Kansas, now going on, and the other faecilities of emanepiating themselves which they are discovering, will, doubtless, make Missouri a Free State long before the year 1870.

Tennessee, under the terrible diseipline of the war, is learning new lessons on the eharaeter of slavery, and is growing in loyalty to the Union and to Freedom. Arkansas, distaneing her rivals in the race for Liberty, has in State Convention adopted, with but one dissenting vote, an artiele of her new Constitution prohibiting slavery ; and, a few weeks hence, we shall doubtless hear the solemn Aye of her people, ratifying this Constitution and her returning fealty to the United States.

Louisiana, from the hour when the Federal Government took possession of New Orleans, and loosened the grasp of her tyrant, has been steadily advaneing in the knowledge of true politieal economy. It is most interesting to trace that advance, from that small eonvoeation held, a year ago, in the parlor of St. Charles' Hotel, composed of planters, once the

magnates of the land, now bankrupt and helpless, suppliants to the Government against which they had rebelled, for protection and help in the cultivation of their estates, down to the time of the assembling of a Convention to elect delegates to represent Louisiana in a Convention of Union men of the Slave States. Had we not become somewhat accustomed to the startling developments of this wonder-working age, we should scarcely have believed the telegram which recently announced that these quondam representatives of the pride and power of Louisiana had proposed the framing of a new Constitution which should forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the State. Who would have believed, a few years ago, a prediction that a "FREEDOM CONVENTION OF THE SLAVE STATES" would be summoned to meet at Louisville, Kentucky, on the 22d of February, 1864?

This mighty revolution in the State has moved the church. The church which, by virtue of its high name and claims, should ever be the leader of moral reforms, but which in every age has been dragged forward by those who, having learned her elementary lessons, must needs come out from her to practice them faithfully, now shares the inspiration of the times, and brings the influence of her words and deeds to the cause of Human Liberty and equal brotherhood. The Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of this State has at last repealed a "regulation," which has disgraced its journals for nearly

a hundred years, excluding the church of St. Thomas (a church composed of colored persons in this city) from representation in the Convention. This rule was rescinded, in May last, by a vote of one hundred and thirty-eight clergymen and eighty-four laymen, against nine clergymen and twelve laymen. A condition attached to the repeal was, that St. Thomas' Church should rescind an article in its Constitution, which asserted that only colored persons should be allowed any share in its government.

We rejoice in being able to record another deed of practical Christianity done by the Episcopal clergy of this city. It is their protest against the "Defence of Slavery," issued by Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, a protest signed by Bishop Potter, and nearly all the Episcopal clergymen of Philadelphia.

They who have watched the course of the A. B. C. F. M. for many years past, will ask no surer evidence of the rising tide of anti-slavery sentiment in the Nation, than the fact that that body was impelled, at its last Annual Meeting, to adopt resolutions expressive of joy in the prospective overthrow of American slavery. And from all the great branches of the American church, Protestant and Catholic, we hear from time to time earnest testimony against the sin which has wrought so great national suffering. On our last annual Thanksgiving Day, how many of our temples of worship received a new consecration, while from the preachers' lips, touched with fire from God's

altar, rose fervent pleas for universal justice, and the penitent cry, "We have been verily guilty concerning our brother;" and from the voices and hearts of congregated thousands burst the anthem,

"May the Banner of Union, restored by Thy Hand,
Be the Banner of Freedom o'er all in the land!"

The Chief Magistrate of this nation is winning many laurel crowns, which, when this stormy period of his public life is passed, he may wear in peace during the remainder of his days, and bequeath to his children and his children's children; but, among the honors which are clustering round his name, there are few which will be a more precious memory in his last hours, than the fact that this Anthem of Thanksgiving and prayer for the slave's redemption was called "THE PRESIDENT'S HYMN."

We cannot attempt to record half of the triumphs of Freedom which, during the past year, have gladdened our hearts and strengthened our hands for a last struggle in our long warfare. We have seen that Proclamation which was ridiculed as a paper weapon, harmless against slavery as a Quaker gun, batter down the walls of many a slave prison, and transform its wretched inmates into United States soldiers, or free laborers, toiling for themselves and their families, with "none to molest or make them afraid." We listened with wonder, almost with awe, to the murmur of praise which went up from St. Helena, on the Fourth of July, when an anti-slavery meeting of

colored people was held in the midst of those South Carolina plantations, and a little black boy read the Declaration of Independence to the freed slaves of the Island. Not less remarkable, as a triumph of the freedom of the Press, is the establishment of anti-slavery journals in several Southern cities; or, as a sign of the times, is the fact that in the streets of Northern cities, the crowds which used to hound on the pursuers of fugitive slaves, now gather to honor negro regiments setting forth to war.

The result of the elections in this State and throughout the North, and also in Delaware and Maryland, were sure pledges of the people to sustain the emancipation policy of the Government; and were justly regarded as more important victories than those won on the battle-field. In the work of the campaign in several States, our townswoman, Anna E. Dickinson, performed most valuable service.

The history of the past year has demonstrated for those who needed the demonstration, the capabilities of a race, which this Nation has held down with a strong hand, and then meanly taunted with its inability to rise. They have proved their value of liberty, by the dangers braved and sufferings endured in their efforts to reach the army lines within which they had heard was their citadel of freedom. That they will labor, industriously and well, even when suddenly transferred from the condition of slaves to that of freedmen, and better and more industriously

in consequence of the change, we have the testimony of Adjutant Gen. Thomas, in the Report of his Free Labor Experiment in Louisiana; of the U. S. Tax Collector for Florida, and of the Superintendents and Teachers in the Sea Islands. And there is abundance of similar testimony to the eagerness with which these emancipated slaves desire, for themselves and their children, education in the rudiments of learning, and the comforts and conveniences of civilized life; and their willingness to pay for these blessings so recently placed within their reach. When the Union forces took possession of Nashville, the negroes immediately established schools for themselves; and in all our Military Departments where freedmen have been gathered, one of their first demands has been for a teacher. The colored man has also proved his capabilities as a soldier. Who asks now in doubt and derision, "Will the negro fight?" The answer is spoken from the cannon's mouth; it is written in sunlight on flashing steel; it comes to us from Port Hudson's field of death, from Morris Island, and from those graves beneath Fort Wagner's walls, which the American people will surely never forget.

By the terrible discipline of civil war, God is educating this nation in a sense of justice, and in the knowledge of what constitutes its true safety. It has long tried to change the eternal laws of cause and effect, to inaugurate a policy whereby it might safely sin. But He, whose retributive justice is love,

is teaching it the folly of such efforts, and is purifying it with fire. And now from its Cabinet, its Army, its Legislative assemblies, its Pulpit, and its Press, comes the loud cry, "Slavery must die, that the nation may live." Brighter and brighter beams the revelation of that unwelcome truth on men's souls; and the cry is echoed by reluctant lips; and they who are striving with frantic energy, to disprove it, and to save from destruction the accursed thing which was working our ruin, are losing heart and hope, and trembling before their visions of the future. Who can doubt that the nation has learned much from the sharp teaching of Providence, when one Secretary of its Cabinet writes thus to another?—"We cannot afford to wrong any class of our people. One poor man, colored though he be, with God on his side, is stronger, if against us, than the hosts of the rebellion."* From one of the most successful generals of the army, we have the testimony that "the North and the South can never live together in peace except as one nation, and that a free nation." Disloyal and pro-slavery journals, impelled by a power which they recognise and hate, are fiercely crying out, "We know thee, who thou art!" and in muttered curses acknowledging that the days of slavery are numbered.

One of the most remarkable illustrations of the moral changes wrought by the discipline of the war,

* Secretary Chase to Secretary Stanton.

has been furnished by a venerable clergyman, whose name is a tower of strength in that large and conservative portion of the church which he has long represented; who, for thirty years past, has been an apologist for slavery, and an opponent of abolitionists; and who, now, in his old age, looking back on his past course, and looking around on the harvest which the nation is reaping from its own sowing, says, "*I was wrong.*" Thank God for such tokens of returning health in the church!

From the South, as well as from the North, comes earnest testimony to the expediency of justice. The Governor of Maryland, in his recent message to the Legislature of that State, says: "I believe, to-day, as I have done for years, that if we had long ago provided for the gradual emancipation of the slaves of the State, we should now be, as regards all the material elements of public prosperity, far in advance of our present position." Members of Congress from Kentucky have declared that slavery is a violation of the law of God; that it is "the life-blood of the rebellion," and that the country will never prosper until it is destroyed. Mr. De Bow, in an argument published in his Review, and for which he was imprisoned by the Rebel Government, shows by a formidable array of statistics, the advantages of free over slave labor; and the editor of the Nashville Union, watching the results of emancipation in the District of Columbia, advises the citizens to "act

honestly towards their slaves," and offer them wages instead of the whip, as an inducement to labor.

While the South is slowly learning this wisdom from lessons of stern retribution, she may also learn it by gentler teaching, if she will note the prosperity which follows quickly the advancing footsteps of Freedom. Already the giant hand of steam is urging the wheels of free labor in South Carolina; and a Free School system, the corner stone of our Northern Commonwealths, has been established in Western Virginia.

In watching the progress of the war, even a superficial observer is startled by the numerous instances of poetical justice which it furnishes. Slaveholders captured and guarded by United States' soldiers who, but yesterday, were their crouching, trembling slaves, have had abundant opportunities to test their favorite theory that human bondage is a divine institution. On the homestead of Henry A. Wise, the daughter of John Brown now teaches emancipated slaves. Beaufort, the pride of South Carolina's aristocracy, is rapidly passing into the possession of her Freedmen.

Thus, by varied discipline, is God teaching a proud nation the immutability of His laws. His Providence is also teaching the safety of obedience to those laws. That question, asked a thousand times, exultantly by those who hoped to find in it an argument against emancipation, anxiously by some who were willing to risk the consequences of practical justice: "What

shall be done with the emancipated slaves?" is now being rapidly and explicitly answered. Dr. Bowen, of Tennessec, says: "As to the future of the negro, there need be no concern. For the most part the negroes will take care of themselves. They are all needed in the South for laborers, and soon there will be no prejudice against hiring them. Already it is found to be an obstacle in the way of enlistment, that planters were offering wages to their slaves, to keep them from going into camp." The Superintendents of the Sea Islands testify that the Freedmen there are, by the proceeds of their own labor, supplying the increasing demands of their civilized life, and opening a new market for Northern manufactories. And the recent sale of lands in South Carolina, by our Government, demonstrates the ability of the Freedmen to take care of themselves. These men and women, so recently penniless, not only availed themselves of their pre-emption right, and purchased at the government price, the acres which they had tilled; but at the sale of the lands and houses in Beaufort, where the competition was earnest, and the property commanded prices greatly beyond its assessed value, they were the principal purchasers.

All these moral problems, upon which the Nation has been and is still so painfully working, might have been easily solved, long ago, if the religion of this country had been worthy of its name. The simple yet profound philosophy of Christ's precepts, teaches

the lessons which this people must needs pass through the discipline of a civil war to learn. Nor are they, even yet, fully learned. Cheering as it is to look at the indications of moral progress which we have been reviewing, there is a darker side of the year's history from which we must not turn away. Our National Capital is still disgraced by the capture and rendition of fugitive slaves. Month after month we have read, with shame and sadness, the details of the arrest, imprisonment, and torture, of these victims of slaveholding tyranny, until, at last, we hear, with relief, that "the colored refugees from the South are to be removed to the Virginia side of the Potomac," because "they are not safe, in Washington, from the slave-catchers." And while these slave-catching statutes are respected by the government, any other provisions of the laws or Constitution are disregarded as "a military necessity," at the discretion of the President. It is mortifying to know that all Christendom looks on while these deeds are done; it is more painful to know that they *are* done. Another stain on our country's annals is its treatment of its colored soldiery. If the contempt and indignity with which some of these regiments have been treated by officers of high rank in the army, who found it difficult to remember that they were soldiers, and not servants of white troops, must be regarded as an inevitable result of that unchristian prejudice against the negro, in which so many of those officers have been nurtured ;

it might at least have been expected that the Nation would not grudge the poor recompense of a soldier's pecuniary reward to the colored men who have met her foes on the battle-field, and died that she might live. Yet the pay, and the bounty, and the pension, which the Government has adjudged to be the white soldier's right, has not been awarded to the black one, though both have heartily volunteered, and both have been drafted into the country's service. This injustice, we confidently believe, our present Congress will prevent in the future, and, we trust, atone for in the past.

In some of our Northern States, claiming to be Free, the cruel prejudice against the colored man has culminated in legislation most unjust to him, and disgraceful to a civilized community. In Illinois colored men have been offered for sale at public auction, in consequence of failure to pay the fines imposed on them for going into that State and remaining more than ten days.

We see all around us sad evidences of the widely-extended influence which slavery has exerted in this Nation, influences which have not wholly lost their power. The pew doors of our churches do not yet open freely to admit on equal terms the white and black worshippers. Our colored citizens are still denied the accommodations of our city railway cars. Occasionally, an individual is permitted to enter them, on sufferance; usually they are refused admission, and

not unfrequently they are ejected, or insultingly told that they may stand on the outside platforms. At Camp William Penn, a few miles from this city, colored regiments are organized, and trained for the defence of the country, and from time to time go forth to the battle-field. The families of many of these soldiers reside in the city, and any frequent traveller on the road leading to the camp, may see hundreds of colored men and women walking thither to visit their sons, their husbands and their brothers, to many of whom they are soon to speak the words of a last farewell. These are the people whom our City Railway Companies exclude from their cars. Our colored population promptly responded to the call for men to drive back the rebel invaders of Pennsylvania; they go willingly in the face of death, and worse than death, to bear their part in the fierce struggle for the Nation's life. Is it *thus* that Philadelphia should requite them?

A careful review of the past will help us to appreciate our present danger. It is the danger which is always incident to an enterprise approaching its consummation; the belief, on the part of its advocates, that the work so nearly finished is already done; that the final victory, which may be depending on the issue of one more struggle, is already won. The Anti-Slavery cause has won such glorious victories within the last three years, that its "time-worn and battle-worn friends," who for thirty years past have been "hoping against hope," may in the fulness of their

joy believe that *all* is won. But slavery is not yet destroyed, either by Presidential Proclamations or by the law of the land. A period of great peril to the Nation is at hand. The question of the reconstruction of the Republic, the re-union of the North and South, is soon to test the wisdom and virtue of this People. Then the Tempter will come in the beautiful guise of an Angel of Peace, and will call Injustice and Wrong by the gentle name of Compromise. Already we see the fore-shadowing of this hour of trial. The suggestions, contained in the President's Proclamation of Amnesty, that the Supreme Court may modify or declare void his Proclamation of Emancipation and the "Acts of Congress passed during the Rebellion,⁵ with reference to slaves;" "and that the future destinies of the Freedmen may be placed, with some protecting restraints, in the hands of the returning States, are sufficient warnings against the pleasant delusion that the cause of Liberty is safe beyond all peril. The most dangerous foes of the North are the traitors within her own borders. The rebel invaders of Northern States may be driven from our soil; the hosts of the Slave Power may be conquered, and lay down their arms; but these Northern sympathizers with treason, and champions of slavery, will never cease their insidious warfare until the dethroned monster is dead and buried beyond hope of resurrection.

In this National crisis, sleepless vigilance is the duty of all the friends of universal Freedom. They must

watch with jealous care, every movement of the Government, and sound an alarm when danger is descried. The Government, in all its Departments, will need all the strength which can be infused into it by the most distinctly expressed public sentiment, to enable it steadfastly to resist the combined influence of the pro-slavery politicians of the North and the Conspiracies of slave-holders now actively at work in some of the repentant States preparing to return to the Union.

The work of the Abolitionists is not yet done. We must not forget, in this hour of our joy over broken fetters and falling chains, in this hour of our hope of speedy discharge from our long warfare, the early vows which bound us to the cause of the American slave until its complete and final triumph should be won. Yet a little while longer we must stand before the Nation as the representatives of the Slave, and demand for him in the name of Humanity, in the name of Justice, all that we would, in similar circumstances, demand for ourselves. We must demand liberty, full and unconditional, for him now ; and such amendment of the United States Constitution as will banish Slavery from the Republic forever. During the process of re-organization of the Union, we must watch with Argus eyes for the stealthy approach of our foe, in the form of national compromises with wrong ; and bid the People take warning from the fatal mistake of the founders of our Government. We have long been inured

to the tasks of detectives, and to whatever obloquy has attended these tasks. We must continue them a little longer, though at the risk of being called grumblers whom nothing will satisfy, even by those who are more than half converted to our cause. Nothing will satisfy us but full justice to the Slave; though we rejoice and give thanks for every step taken towards it.

The attention of this Association, during the past year, has been directed to the work of memorializing Congress and our State Legislature in behalf of the slave's emancipation, and the rights of the colored man. Early in the year the following Remonstrance was presented to both Houses of the Pennsylvania Legislature.

The Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society respectfully remonstrate against the adoption of a law to prevent the migration into this State, of colored persons, or any other class of unoffending people; and earnestly beseech your Body to save the State from the disgrace of such an unconstitutional and inhuman enactment.

We have adopted for circulation the Petition issued by the "Women's National Loyal League," asking for the abolition of slavery throughout the United States; and through the efforts of our members a very large number of signatures have been obtained. We have continued, as in former years, to circulate the National Anti-Slavery Standard, and The Liberator, as widely as our Treasury would

allow; and to disseminate anti-slavery truth, by the various means in our power. Thirty years' experience confirms our confidence in the weapons which we adopted at the commencement of our warfare.

The completion of our third Decade is almost simultaneous with that of the American Anti-Slavery Society. As a constituent part of that Society, we recently celebrated, with our coadjutors, the Thirtieth Anniversary of the birth of our enterprise, and reviewed the history of this Association from its organization to the present time. Words are too weak to express our gratitude for the experience of the past, the triumphs of the present, the hopes of the future. Every year has been marked with some tokens of the advancement of our cause. In the darkest hours we have ever seen the pillar of fire which was leading it steadily onward, through all difficulties, over all opposition. On each of our Anniversaries we have set up a stone of memorial that "hitherto hath the Lord helped us." The last year has revealed, too clearly for doubt, the fact that this war between the North and the South, is a war between Freedom and Slavery. The South purposed and avowed this from the beginning of the rebellion. The North came, slowly and reluctantly, to a perception and acknowledgment of the fact. But now the united voice and action of Church and State, of Conservatives and Radicals, attest it; and the organs of despotism in

Europe can no longer, with any pretence of sincerity, affect to disbelieve it. Neither can they any longer conceal it from the honest masses of the British people, who are now eagerly stretching out their hands in fraternal sympathy with us in this struggle. The cheering tones of their brotherly greeting ring out to us from across the Atlantic, and with them mingle voices from France, and Italy, and Germany, shouting their All Hail! to the defenders of Liberty in the United States of America.

On the records of the triumphs of Freedom in 1863, stands the emancipation of the 45,000 slaves of Surinam, who, in virtue of a decree of the States General of Holland, passed on the 8th of August, 1862, obtained their freedom on the 1st of July last.

The year upon which we enter to-day, lies before us, bright with promise. The path of our just cause shines brighter and brighter as it approaches its perfect day. We confidently trust that this shall be the year of its complete triumph, and that a national decree of universal emancipation will consummate our labors. Many signs of the times indicate the fulfilment of this hope. The slaves whom the President's Proclamation or the Acts of Confiscation did not reach, are rapidly emancipating themselves. State governments have little power to hold them, and the Federal Government has almost ceased to exert its authority to stay their

flight to freedom. They have lost their value as property in the Border States. The hope of reviving the system of slavery is failing in the hearts of its advocates; and the people of the North are daily growing stronger in their determination to crush the rebellion by destroying its cause. Prominent journals, once conservative of slaveholding interests, now advocate such amendment of the Constitution as will prevent the recurrence of the terrible scenes of the last three years, by prohibiting forever the existence of slavery in the land.

Some who greeted with us the dawn of this Day of Jubilee, no longer watch, on earth, the glory of its ascending sun. One who, with youthful ardor labored earnestly with us, and one who in extreme age proved by her deeds of charity, how well she remembered "those in bonds," have finished their work.* Others,† faithful unto death in the cause of the slave, have also heard the summons, "Come up higher!" We stand a little longer in the ranks where they have fallen, awaiting the hour when we shall hear the signal of our discharge in the victorious shout, "ALL IS LOST TO SLAVERY; ALL IS WON TO FREEDOM!"

* Caroline Wise Dickerson, Martha Gillingham.

† Amos Gilbert, William Bernard.

Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society in account with
ANNIE SHOEMAKER, Treasurer.

1863.	DR.	
	To subscription to A. S. Standard, 50 copies.....	\$125 00
	“ “ Liberator, 10 copies.....	30 00
	“ Advertising.....	4 38
	“ Rent of Hall for Annual Meeting.....	5 00
	“ Postage.....	1 52
	“ Printing Annual Report.....	29 50
	“ Women's Loyal League Association.....	5 00
	“ Rent of Room for Stated Meetings.....	4 00
2d mo., 1864.	Balance in Treasury.....	47 91
		<hr/> \$252 31

1863.	CR.	
	By Balance in Treasury.....	\$160 21
	“ Annual Subscriptions.....	69 00
	“ Donations at Annual Meeting.....	6 00
	“ Sale of goods from Fair of 1861.....	17 10
		<hr/> \$252 31

LYDIA GILLINGHAM,
Auditor.

